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TAGS: PFOR, PARM, UR, US

SUBJ: TROFIMENKO ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS

1. SUMMARY. THE USA INSTITUTE'S GENRIKH TROFIMENKO, WRITING IN THE SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN', CONTENTS THAT A "CERTAIN STABILITY" HAS BEEN CREATED IN U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS WHICH "SOMETIMES" IS NOT DISTURBED BY EVENTS WHICH CAUSE TENSIONS IN THESE RELATIONS. AS EXAMPLES HE POINTS TO THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS IN OCTOBER 1973, AS WELL AS TO THE 1974 TRADE ACT. THE LATTER, HE SAYS, DID NOT DEVELOP A "RIPPLE" EFFECT CAUSING A DETERIORATION IN OTHER ASPECTS

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OF THE U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP. ON THE TRADE ACT HE ALSO

EXPRESSES THE VIEW THAT CONGRESS IS REALIZING THAT IT WENT TOO FAR AND HAS DAMAGED TRADE PROSPECTS AT A TIME WHEN THE U.S. ECONOMY NEEDS ALL THE HELP IT CAN GET.

2. THE ARTICLE IS SIGNIFICANT IN OUR ESTIMATION BECAUSE OF THE UNUSUAL CONFIDENCE IT PLACES IN THE STABILITY OF THE DETENTE RELATIONSHIP. SOVIET COMMENTARY IN RECENT WEEKS HAS LARGELY BEEN DEVOTED TO CONTENTIOUS ISSUES IN OUR RELATIONS, SUCH AS PORTUGAL AND, TO A GROWING DEGREE, CSCE COMPLIANCE. TROFIMENKO DOES NOT SAY THAT THE STABILITY HE SPEAKS OF IS UNSHAKEABLE, BUT HE DOES CITE TWO FAIRLY IMPORTANT CAUSES OF TENSION IN THE PAST WHOSE EFFECTS HE CLAIMS HAVE BEEN FULLY OVERCOME. HIS ESSENTIAL MESSAGE SEEMS TO BE A FORCEFUL RESTATEMENT OF THE THESIS THAT OBJECTIVE FACTORS NOW DICTATE THAT U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS BE FULLY NORMALIZED, AND THAT THOUGH DIFFERENCES WILL ARISE EN ROUTE TO THAT FINAL GOAL, THEY SHOULD BE REGARDED AS TEMPORARY DISTURBANCES WHICH NEED NOT HAVE ANY LASTING EFFECT ON THE GENERAL COURSE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. TROFIMENKO BEGINS BY TRACING THE HISTORY OF U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SINCE WW II, APPLYING THE USUAL TENDENTIOUS INTERPRETATION THAT THE U.S. SOUGHT "WORLD HEGEMONY." THIS GOAL WAS GRADUALLY MODIFIED, HE SAYS, AS THE U.S. BECAME MORE AND MORE AWARE OF THE GROWING POWER OF THE SOVIET UNION--A PROCESS THAT BEGAN AT LEAST AS EARLY AS 1953, WHEN PRESIDENT EISENHOWER STATED THAT A NUCLEAR WAR COULD LEAD TO TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF THE U.S. AND THE USSR. PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S AMERICAN UNIVERSITY SPEECH WAS A FURTHER TURNING POINT WHICH RESULTED FROM THE NEAR-COLLISION WITH THE SOVIET UNION OVER CUBA IN 1962. INTERESTINGLY, TROFIMENKO EMPHASIZES THAT THE ACHIEVEMENT OF STRATEGIC PARITY IN THE EARLY 1970'S WAS THE FINAL BLOW WHICH FORCED THE "GOVERNING CLASS" IN THE U.S. TO BEGIN REASSESSMENT OF THE NECESSITY OF COEXISTENCE.

3. HE WRITES THAT A CERTAIN INFRASTRUCTURE FOR RELATIONS HAS NOW BEEN CREATED THROUGH THE BILATERAL AGREEMENTS OF THE PERIOD AFTER 1972, ESPECIALLY THE AGREEMENT ON BASIC LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PRINCIPLES. NEVERTHELESS, HE CONTINUES, THE COURSE OF RELATIONS HAS NOT BEEN SMOOTH. THE VLADIVOSTOK AGREEMENT WAS A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION, BUT THE DECISION BY CONGRESS ON TRADE IN 1974 HALTED PROGRESS IN THE TRADE AREA. HE ADDS, HOWEVER, THAT "MANY OF THOSE" WHO VOTED FOR THE JACKSON AMENDMENT "ARE BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEY CLEARLY WENT TOO FAR, AND ARE ATTEMPTING TO JUSTIFY THEMSELVES BEFORE SOCIETY FOR THE REDUCTION OF TRADE POSSIBILITIES

WITH THE SOCIALIST STATES AT A TIME WHEN THE COUNTRY IS EXPERIENCING AN UNPRECEDENTED ECONOMIC DECLINE." HE SAYS THAT THE OVER-WHELMING MAJORITY OF AMERICAN OPINION DOES NOT APPROVE OF SUCH "ZIG-ZAGS" IN RELATIONS, SINCE THEY CONSIDER THAT THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF DETENTE IS IN EVERYONE'S INTEREST. EVEN THE "ESTABLISHMENT," HE CONTINUES, NOW REGARDS NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS AS A "POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT." HE THEN MAKES THE POINT THAT "A CERTAIN STABILITY IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAS BEEN CREATED BY THE SERIES OF JOINT AGREEMENTS AND BY MEASURES IMPLEMENTING THEM, AND IT IS SUCH THAT IT IS SOMETIMES DIFFICULT FOR EVENTS ACTING IN AN OPPOSING DIRECTION TO DISTURB IT." HE CONTINUES THAT THE OCTOBER 1973 MIDDLE EAST CRISIS CALLED FORTH "SIGNS OF TENSION" IN RELATIONS, BUT BECAUSE OF JOINT ACTIONS AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING THEY WERE OVERCOME. HE CONTINUES: "THE SAME CAN BE SAID FOR THE DISCRIMINATORY AMENDMENTS TO THE 1974 TRADE ACT. ALTHOUGH THESE ACTIONS BY CONGRESS WITHOUT A DOUBT COMPLICATED THE PROCESS OF FURTHER EXPANSION OF SOVIET-AMERICAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION, THEY DID NOT, AS THE AMERICANS THEMSELVES WILL ADMIT, HAVE A RIPPLE EFFECT, THAT IS, THEY DID NOT CAUSE A NEGATIVE INFLUENCE ON ALL OTHER ASPECTS OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS." TROFIMENKO UNDERLINES FURTHER PROGRESS ON SALT ISSUES REACHED AT HELSINKI (SIC) AND REPEATS THE BREZHNEV LINE THAT THE END OF THE VIETNAM WAR "OPENS FAVORABLE PROSPECTS" FOR NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS.

4. TROFIMENKO ENDS ON AN OPTIMISTIC NOTE: "MOST AMERICANS ARE COMING TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE MOMENTUM GATHERED IN THE LAST FEW YEARS IN VARIOUS AREAS (INCLUDING THE ECONOMIC AREA) OF U.S.-SOVIET COOPERATION WILL ALLOW OPPOSITION BY ENEMIES OF DETENTE TO BE OVERCOME, AND WILL ALLOW A NORMALIZATION OF THE JURIDICAL BASIS OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RELATIONS AS WELL AS ACHIEVEMENT OF NEW SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC WEAPONS. THE SOVIET PEOPLE ALSO ADHERES TO AN OPTIMISTIC POINT OF VIEW ON THESE MATTERS(FOR) OBJECTIVE FACTORS, REFLECTING THE DEVELOPMENT NEEDS OF ALL MANKIND, ARE STRONGER THAN THIS OR THAT SUBJECTIVE DESIRES OF VARIOUS POLITICIANS...".
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